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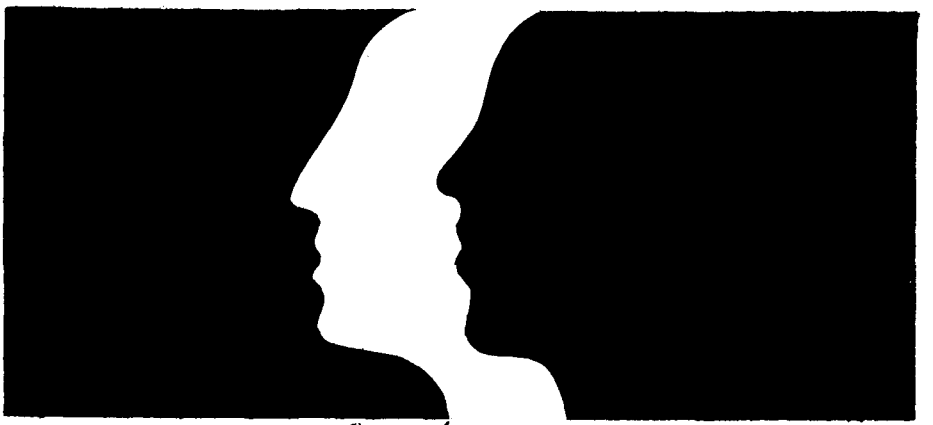

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NO END OF PLEDGES

Herbert Hill

PEARSON STAGGERS ON

John David Hamilton

'THE TROUBLED PRIEST'

an exchange of views

ROBERT ADOLFS
CHARLES DAVIS
WILLIAM DuBAY
JOHN A. O'BRIEN

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Peace groups without exception are displaying anxiety that the turn of events in Vietnam will sweep the United States into total military recklessness.

The Southern California Quarterly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) worries about nuclear warfare, and has called on President Johnson "to take an immediate first step in the termination of the military engagement in Vietnam."

Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam fears "a bloodbath at Khesanh" and is urging telegrams to the President and to Senators "pleading with them not to allow that battle to become history."

But the fear grows stronger that the Administration is without ears as well as restraint.

Meanwhile, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, acting following the jailing of Buddhist religious leaders and prominent Vietnamese peace figures, has asked the Administration to withdraw its support of the Thieu-Ky regime. The remanding of people like Thich Tri Quang and Truong Dinh Dzu into "protective custody" is seen by the Fellowship as exposing "the fraudulence of the claim of the Saigon regime to legitimacy."

But few are betting that the incarcerations will be seen thus by our Texas patriots.

•

Speaking of Texas, the Ripon Society of Cambridge, Mass., argues flatly in its February *Forum* that "President Johnson's long-time friends and allies have profited greatly from the Vietnam build-up."

Citing Defense Department figures, Ripon points out that Texas—11th-ranked in prime defense contracts ($224 million) for the last quarter of the last Kennedy budget—ranks second three years later, with contracts totaling $1,253,508,000 for the last quarter of fiscal 1967.

Total defense spending rose 55 percent during the period; Texas' share of the total leaped 460 percent.

Switching to brass knuckles, the Ripon Society comments: "Clever exploitation of political power has, of course, many precedents in American history. But this ought not obscure the effect of the Johnson-Southwest military industrial complex on America and the future course of our foreign policy. The trends are not simply a matter of mink or vicuna coats. A powerful segment of the national leadership, perhaps including the President himself, is deriving enormous benefits from the prolongation of the war in Asia. The result is a conflict of interests of grave proportions and worldwide significance."

The Boston *Globe*, which describes the Ripon Society as a "moderate Republican group," has editorialized that "President Johnson should demand that these charges be either documented or retracted."

•

A refreshing change from the disavowals that usually accompany a priest's decision to marry was the comment of Archbishop James P. Davis of Santa Fe to newsmen, after Father Robert Garcia, 32, who once headed New Mexico's War on Poverty, married the former Mrs. Linda Burnside:

"It is a matter of conscience . . . essentially a private matter between the persons concerned."

•

The press pointed out in stories announcing the appointment of Bishop John J. Carberry as the new Archbishop of St. Louis that he was firmly committed to current Church discipline on clerical celibacy. Priests of the Diocese of Columbus, which Bishop Carberry will be leaving for St. Louis, needed no reminding.

At last Fall's clergy conference, Bishop Carberry urged Columbus priests to accept "humbly and prayerfully, sincerely, willingly and joyfully" Pope Paul's encyclical on celibacy as "final."

"May we, in a spirit of priestly charity, put to rest further discussion, for Peter has spoken," Bishop Carberry declared. He added, to the puzzlement of his audience, that his request "does not imply unwillingness to discuss the issue."

•

In still another chapter of its somewhat mystifying campaign against the National Council of Catholic Men's operation of the Catholic Hour, *America* explains part of its objections: "Apparently 'The Catholic Hour' is trying to perpetuate the notion that the Catholic Church is in a state of crisis." Funny how that notion gets around.

•

A pilot program in urban training for clergy of all faiths is being offered by Case Western Reserve University beginning Sept. 30. The program is being advertised as the only one of its kind in the U.S. which combines complete university and metropolitan engagement.

Clergy within commuting distance of Cleveland may retain their present positions. In other cases, they are expected to take up residence in or near Cleveland for the training period. A training stipend of $3,600 will be provided.

The program will run until June 6, 1969. Application requests may be had from the Clergy Intern Program, 9606 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, O., 44106.

•

A letter from Bishop Clarence G. Issenmann, chairman of the Press Department of the U.S. Catholic Conference, to fellow bishops notes that, despite "a growing Catholic population and an expanding economy," Catholic magazines have dropped from a high of 473 in 1961 to 364 today, and show a 10-year loss in circulation of 4,634,888.

•

Nashua (N.H.) *Telegraph* columnist Barry Palmer quotes Merrimack Chief John Wilders on the increased preference of police officers for the use of police dogs:

"Dogs don't know a thing about informing hoods of their constitutional rights . . ."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

"Card Stacking"

St. Louis. Mo.

To the Editors: I feel driven to write in reply to William V. Shannon's "Viet Cong Escalation" (Feb. 23) . . . It seems to me a nice example of the "card stacking" variety of propaganda, one which very closely approximates what we've become used to hearing from Washington these days. . . The whole enterprise is designed to lead to a foregone conclusion, the one which the propagandist favors. . .

From one critic's point of view, however, I would like to make the following rejoinder:

(1) The large majority of critics, I think, believe that we have been interfering in the internal affairs of another country for nearly a quarter of a century, that we are participants in someone else's civil war, and that there is no overwhelming "national interest" which compels such behavior. From this perspective it is a very short distance to the argument that we are engaged in a war which lacks moral justification, and hence which constitutes an "abuse of power," as Theodore Draper calls it. From this view, our Americanizing of the war in 1965 and later renders it illegitimate, even apart from the means of mass terror and destruction used on our part to wage it—means which doubly condemn it.

But what about the Viet Cong's atrocities? Of course they are deplorable. . . That participants in civil wars tend to kill each other, often in exceptionally gruesome ways, is certainly no news. American power neither can nor should be employed, apart from participation in United Nations peacekeeping or rescue operations, to stop all of them. . . The truth of the matter is that Americans tend to get exercised by "atrocities" only when they are committed by people we can label as "Communists" and thus relegate to a less-than-human status. Our horror at Viet Cong atrocities, thus seems to me a typically unprincipled, self-serving, crassly *political* kind if reaction.

(2) So far as the military bravery of

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RIOTS AND RACISM

On the day that the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders issued a summary of its report, Mayor Addonizio of Newark, where one of the worst riots of 1967 occurred, rejected the idea of a police review board, Senator Dirksen tried to further dilute his son-in-law's compromise open housing bill, and Representative Mills said that an acceleration of the war in Vietnam could force Congress to raise taxes. In the weeks preceding the Commission's statement, newspapers reported that in city after city across the United States police departments were building arsenals of heavy weapons to cope with expected ghetto violence this summer. These items provide an ironic counterpoint to the Commission's findings in a study of 24 disorders in 23 cities that two of the most deeply-held grievances in black ghettos are directed toward police practices and bad housing. They also suggest that whatever the shock value the Commission's accusation of white racism may have on the conscience of white Americans, its specific recommendations will have hard sledding through a stingy and war-preoccupied Congress. Some of the recommendations, like the creation of two million new jobs, six million new housing units, substantial federal aid to education, income supplements and a federal welfare program, will cost a great deal of money. Others, like passage of an enforceable federal open housing law to cover the sale or rental of all housing will require what the Commission calls "new attitudes, new understanding, and, above all, new will." Perhaps these things will be the hardest to come by. As the Commission noted, the misery of life in the ghettos is something totally unknown to most white Americans. Thus, when accumulated ghetto frustrations erupt in violence, whites panic, call for massive force to quell the riots and, when they are over, buy tanks and machine guns for their cops instead of attacking the root causes of ghetto anger.

Among these causes, along with hatred of the police and bad housing,

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the Commission found inadequate education, municipal services, welfare programs and recreational facilities, discrimination in the courts and at the hands of merchants and credit agencies and lack of political power, especially at the local level. All of these combine to form a noose around the black man, trapping him in the ghetto; the color of his skin, and white racism, prevent his breaking out of it, as did all those white immigrants whom whites delight in holding up for his example.

The Commission believes that the deepening racial division of America into two societies can be reversed. But, the Report states, it "will require a commitment to national action—compassionate, massive, sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on this earth." The question is, will these resources be marshalled, can they be, with the war in Vietnam siphoning off billions of dollars each year? It may be debated whether we would be willing to spend the money even if there were no war. The fact is that we have before us a priority at least as important as interfering in an Asian civil war—to do justice at home. The Riots Commission Report, from all accounts, was a compromise achieved between liberal and conservative factions. It remains to be seen whether Congress and the American people will be willing to pursue its recommendations even in compromise fashion or whether the budget and the war will be made to excuse continued white racism.

BISHOP SHEEN'S GESTURE

Bishop Fulton J. Sheen's recent gesture, giving away to the federal government an entire Rochester parish plant worth close to $700,000, presents a nice dilemma. If the Riots Commission's Report says anything, it says that money and action are needed immediately to save the cities from a bloodbath. In the end, this money will have to come from Congress. But in the meantime, what of the churches? What can they do? They can do two things. They can help educate the people to the magnitude of the crisis, pointing out their Christian responsibility to act. But words without acts will be dead, just so much more civil rights rhetoric. The churches will also have to put their own security—financial and political—on the line. Bishop Sheen's was just the kind of act which is needed. To be sure, it was a gesture—he didn't give away all the poor parishes—but a kind of gesture that has great ramifications, pointing the way for further more inclusive gestures and holding up a concrete symbol of what it means to act in a meaningful way. Bishop Sheen has always had an eye to the dramatic; it served him well in this instance.

And so what happened? The pastor and the parishioners screamed that they had not been consulted, that the gesture was a mistake, and that the parish was doing some useful things for the poor, which would be lost. At the moment this is being written the latest report is that the parish will not be given away after all. If that is so, one would have to call it a victory for democracy in the Church; bishops can't so easily get away with unilateral decrees anymore. But it will just as obviously be a defeat for the power of a concrete prophetic witness of a kind badly needed; parochialism and self-interest will have triumphed.

It is hard to choose sides here. We want the Church to put its witness on the line; and, in commercial America, the giving away of property provides as good a measure of seriousness as any. But we also want the people in the Church to participate in important decisions. To let the people decide on the fate of their parish (about which they are usually allowed to say nothing) is to demonstrate the healthy demise of an authoritarian authority. It would be nice to imagine that the people might vote to give their parish away; nice, but unrealistic, at least if the response of the Rochester parishioners is any guide.

In this instance, we support Bishop Sheen. The needs of the poor in American cities are greater than the needs of Catholics to determine their parochial life. There are times when authority must be prophetic and this may mean acting against the wishes of the people. There are good and bad unpopular decisions. In our judgment, Bishop Sheen's was a good one. We will be sorry if he backs down.

THE RYAN REPORT

In "No End of Pledges" (page 709) Herbert Hill documents the fact that racism still prevails with the compliance of the Department of Labor in the building trades. The article deals with what Mr. Hill aptly calls the "administrative nullification" of civil rights statutes and executive orders of the President. He offers the argument that voluntary compliance has become synonymous with evasion, a point which unfortunately the new Riots Report fails to mention in its praise of these same construction unions. However another report, issued almost simultaneously by Representative William F. Ryan (Dem. N.Y.), and buried in the daily press, amplifies the Hill argument about continuing discrimination and does so with particular reference to continuing discrimination in the federal government itself.

In the instance of the Department of Defense, both Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as well as Executive Order 11246 which enables federal agencies to terminate contracts with firms found to be discriminating, were enforced for slightly longer than a year; in one case this enforcement was responsible for integrating the first industry in Mississippi. "In case after case," Ryan stated, "when corporations were confronted with a credible risk of loss of contract, they proved cooperative."

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However, enforcement incurred the wrath of industry and senior officers, and the compliance program was reorganized out of existence and placed under the Defense Contract Administration office "where it could no longer be an embarrassment."

In addition, Ryan's study refers to comparably lax procedures in other agencies, including the Social Security Administration ("one major Northern insurance company in a city with a Negro population of 19 percent has 1,800 employees above clerical levels in its home office, and precisely 13 are Negroes), Selective Service, Highway, Interstate Commerce, Government Printing Office, the Federal Insurance Deposit Corporation and others. Ryan shows that in the vaunted "Equal Opportunity Employer" program—a voluntary measure—those who did not sign the pledge in 1961 have a higher level of non-white managerial employment than those who did: 1.2 percent to 0.3 percent. His conclusions on building trade discrimination bear out the thesis of federal collusion with discriminatory unions, and he remarks that even if the government were interested in enforcement, state FEPC's have only skeletal staffs, and the NLRB still goes by the constrained case by case method. Ryan asks how the government can ask of industry what it doesn't ask of itself.

Medicare in Maryland: Last Minute Reprieve

On Saturday morning, Dec. 30, 1967, Governor Spiro T. Agnew announced that due to a projected deficit of about $6 million the medically indigent (27,000 people) were to be cut from Maryland's Medical Assistance Program. In response, the Medical Assistance Advisory Committee, a group of knowledgeable health professionals and representatives of consumers, petitioned the Governor to rescind his order and to establish a "Medicaid" study commission to investigate all aspects of the program. The response to this and other pressures from the Hospital Council was the Governor's announcement that he would borrow five million dollars from the next year's "pay as you go" capital construction fund to meet the full operating expenses of "Medicaid" for the remainder of this fiscal year.

This crisis was, however, merely an episode in a deeper and continuing problem which each of the several states and the federal government will ultimately have to solve. When the Social Security Act was passed in 1937, the United States already had extensive welfare programs —Old Age Assistance, Aid for Families with Dependent Children, Aid for the Needy Disabled, and Aid to the Blind. These programs were brought under the Social Security Act and are now administered by the Social and Rehabilitative Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare at an annual cost to the federal government of about 2.4 billion dollars.

The amendments enacted by Congress in 1965 to the basic Social Security Act of 1937 set the stage for a fundamental alteration in American social welfare programs. The publicity that surrounded "Medicare," Title XVIII of the amendments, the program for the population over age 65, was so great that it completely obscured two other far more important amendments, Titles II and XIX. Title II provides for demonstration projects to be carried out by any responsible private or public health-care agency to provide comprehensive health care for needy children (persons up to the age of 21 years) in a defined geographic area. Title XIX, "Medicaid," provides for federal matching monies to the states for programs of health care for welfare recipients and those in the four federally-supported programs mentioned above (Old Age Assistance etc.), and for others, such as the medically indigent, whom the state might wish to include in its program. Title XIX provides federal matching monies to the states when such programs are set up. Services to be provided include payment to physicians and dentists, hospitals, nursing homes, and home health care agencies.

However, the fact that the states must provide matching funds has tended to highlight the urban-rural conflicts which show up so consistently in increasingly parsimonious state legislatures. Naturally, welfare provisions have been the first to feel the edge of the budget-cutting axe.

Maryland's difficulty resembles California's. Both Governor Agnew and Governor Reagan took emergency action necessitated by the rising costs of each state's medical assistance program and the rigidity of federal regulations which do not permit adjusting payments to unanticipated increases in hospital costs or when the customary fees to physicians increase with the demand for services.

In Maryland it soon became clear that the Medical Assistance Program was going to be in deep financial trouble. The budget for the 1968 fiscal year was some $16 million short of the amount recommended for the program by the State Health Department after evaluation of the program's operation during the previous fiscal year, and after careful projection of costs, allowing for an increase in the eligible population and a predictable rise in professional and institutional costs.

The advantage of the program envisioned by Title XIX is that care may be obtained by people who never before could afford it. The advantages of Title XIX should not be lost even though the programs will cost more than was originally thought.

Economies to make the programs more effective and workable could well include payment mechanisms not based entirely on cost or on customary fees, a change

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from services provided totally by government to the purchase of some or all services from the private sector, with agencies such as Blue Cross and Blue Shield acting as intermediaries. The smoother operation of "Medicare" as compared to "Medicaid" in most of the states gives weight to the latter suggestion.

Perhaps a greater use of state hospitals may be made for "Medicaid" patients; this would cut down on some of the costs of purchasing care from private institutions. The use of generic drugs, central purchasing of drugs, preventive rather than remedial dental care and a prepaid physician's program might all be investigated as possible economy measures.

The demand for social services, including medical care, is greater now than in former times and will obviously cost more than what has been set aside in the states in the past for these purposes. If we are our brother's keeper it is going to cost us money. JOHN COLLINS HARVEY

(John Collins Harvey, M.D., is medical director of the planning office of Good Samaritan Hospital, Baltimore.)

Washington's Prescription For the Ghettos

Following upon the dismissal of the Riot Commission's original recommendations are new indications that the Administration has forsaken the way of social reconstruction and chosen instead greater police power and repression as a solution to the unraveling fabric of domestic tranquility.

Buried in the President's omnibus crime message of Feb. 7, amid discussion of auto theft, juvenile delinquency, drugs and samples of purest Lyndonese ("These powders and pills threaten our nation's health, vitality, and self-respect"), including a denunciation of "barbituates, pep pills, and speed (sic)", is the Federal Anti-riot Act of 1968. This would make it a federal offense, punishable by up to five years imprisonment, "for any person to incite or organize a riot after having traveled in interstate commerce with intent to do so." The measure is almost identical to the discredited Cramer bill, which passed the House last July over the objections of Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler, who termed it "a futile gesture, neither preventive nor curative," and House liberal leader Frank Thompson, who referred to the legislation as a bill of attainder aimed at Stokeley Carmichael.

On that round, Administration support was conspicuously absent. Six months later, in an election year, the Administration has found it convenient to go along with the outside-agitator theory of civil disorder, on which its Vietnam policy has been based for so long.

There are other signs that the White House has all but given up the more difficult course of comprehending and explaining the root causes of social disruption, and opted for the seductive expedient of demanding more "law and order." It is the more genteel, Northern equivalent of refusing to be "out-Niggered," as George Wallace quaintly put it after losing his last election as a racial moderate. Lyndon Johnson will not be out-law-and-ordered.

The Pentagon recently made public a new program which authorizes early release of servicemen on active duty who accept employment with civilian police departments. Significantly, the District of Columbia, which is hurriedly endeavoring to increase its ranks of Negro patrolmen, was chosen as the pilot city last November. The program, now full blown, aims at Negro combat veterans, whose rate of reenlistment reflects their meager opportunities in civilian life. The implication is that their presence on city streets is now seen as even more critical than their return to Vietnam. The Los Angeles Police Department was recently reported searching out potential recruits right in California military bases, without even waiting for the signal from Washington.

A third event worthy of note is the training seminar series recently conducted at Airlie House by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) at the expense of the Justice Department. A total of 25 police chiefs participated in four, week-long seminars dealing with riot prevention and control. An expanded program of seminars on location in 13 cities for subordinate police officials is scheduled to begin soon.

The seminars were designed by the IACP, the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance of the Department of Justice, and a private organization, Leadership Resources, Inc. It was apparent from the outset that the emphasis of the seminars was to be control rather than prevention. This set off a conflict between the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance and another branch of the Justice Department, the Community Relations Service (CRS), which is the Government's racial trouble-shooter. Headed by Roger Wilkins of the NAACP Wilkinses, CRS has probably the most enlightened approach to race of any federal agency.

CRS was extremely disturbed that no Negroes whatever were to be present at the training sessions, and that the community relations component of the seminars was to be minimal. A compromise finally afforded the CRS people some participation in the program, and brought in five Negro community leaders to give orientation lectures.

At the orientation session on Jan. 14, Marion Barry, veteran D.C. civil rights activist, became embroiled in a dispute with the Leadership Resources, Inc., representative, a professional conference planner with the Terry Southernesque name of Drexel Sprecher, over whether any Negroes had been involved in the seminar's planning. Leadership Resources' one Negro consultant turned

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out to have left the organization six months earlier, and the five Negro "resource people" left angered at their role as window dressing.

One of their number, Mrs. Willie J. Hardy, decided to crash the seminar anyway, and drove to Airlie House later that week. She was physically barred from entering by one of the seminar participants, Sheriff Wes Pomeroy of San Mateo, Calif., who told a reporter that he "pulled her with gentleness, but firmly." If the assembled chiefs thought the episode a clever part of the seminar designed to test their response to delicate racial confrontations, they failed the course. The chiefs voted unanimously not to let Mrs. Hardy in. Mrs. Hardy, who is chairman of the D.C. Metropolitan Community Aid Council, later remarked that she didn't see how a bunch of white police chiefs could learn much about the black community by themselves.

Subsequently, an *ad hoc* committee requested the Justice Department to restructure the conference and to go back to the drawing boards before commencing with the planned 13 field seminars. This was rejected out of hand. The committee has unsuccessfully sought a meeting with Attorney General Ramsey Clark, and is reportedly considering a sit-in in his office.

In the space of a few weeks, one has witnessed a proposed program of urban reconstruction be superseded by a Federal Riot Act, community relations take a back seat to community control at a Justice Department Seminar for police chiefs—complete with a microcosmic denial of black representation—and the announcement of a special police recruitment program aimed at Negroes returning from Vietnam.

In Vietnam, of course, coercion has long since replaced conciliation. Among the Orwellian dismissals of the striking guerrilla raid on the U.S. Embassy compound was the remark of one General to the effect that there were occasional outbursts of violence even in American cities, but that didn't mean. . . . ERNEST GARVEY

(Ernest Garvey is the pseudonym of an employee of the federal government in Washington.)

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CANADIAN CAPERS

PEARSON STAGGERS ON

Canada's minority government has recently staggered through another major political crisis but it's still trapped in a bog of insoluble problems. The best it can hope for is to hold off a general election until next autumn. By that time the governing party, the Liberals, will have elected and established a new leader to succeed Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson. In Canada's unexplainable democracy, that leader will become Prime Minister without ever being voted on by the electorate. Only later will he be asked to seek a popular mandate—something Mr. Pearson never fully achieved in two tries in five years.

The Canadian political follies make the American presidential campaigns look staid and sensible. Our latest crisis came through incredible bungling and accident and the government survived only through the incompetence of the opposition. At a time of great crisis, the country was left drifting with a repudiated financial policy and a lame-duck prime minister. *Plus* a savage Liberal leadership race which will reach its climax during the first week of April.

To illustrate our dilemma: Canada has two major and three minor national parties. Neither of the major parties —the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives—has proved acceptable to a majority of the voters since 1957. Since that time, the Conservatives have been ripped apart three times by internal revolts and only managed to find an acceptable new leader, Robert Stanfield, last September. The Liberals, a pragmatic coalition concerned with management rather than ideology, may be split internally even more seriously than the Conservatives, but they have managed to keep party divisions beneath the surface. The minor right-wing party, Social Credit, split in two in 1963 and now two unconnected factions sit in the House of Commons. Even the mildly radical New Democratic Party cannot make up its mind whether it will move openly into the center or stay slightly to the left of the Liberals.

For some time, thoughtful Canadians have been asking why this country—one of the oldest democracies in the world, rich, advanced, spacious, friendly to all other nations and probably the sixth trading power of the world—should be in such dire political straits. Why do we continually seem to be flying apart?

The events of the last few months have brought many of the most serious problems out into the open; they have also shown an astonishing inability of our political leaders to cope with them. In December, Prime Minister Pearson inexplicably announced his forthcoming retirement, and the Liberals called a leadership convention in Ottawa in April. This meant that the leadership rivals—most of them in the federal cabinet—were forced to campaign while carrying on the business of government and trying to maintain the appearance of unity. At the same time, Mr. Pearson, who declined to name a successor, lost most of his authority within the party. He still possessed enormous prestige in the country, but he has little room to maneuver politically.

Nevertheless, the government carried on; for five years

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it had been able to stay in office through playing the opposition parties off against each other. On Feb. 19, a Monday, the roof fell in—not through any skill of the opposition but through unbelievable ineptness by the government.

Parliament was discussing a bill to raise taxes. It had passed second reading—acceptance in principle—without much trouble. The formality of third reading seemed to be no problem. It was, however, a Monday night and almost 40 percent of the members of parliament were absent. On third reading, the bill was defeated 84 votes to 82 (out of a total of 262 sitting members). The opposition, scenting victory, leaped in to declare that as the government had been defeated on a money measure —one of the most sacred parliamentary domains in the British tradition—it should resign immediately and call an election.

Prime Minister Pearson, returning from a holiday in the West Indies, fought back skillfully, playing for time so that he could divide the opposition. He maintained that the Feb. 19 vote was a fluke and he asked for a formal vote of confidence. In the end, he won his point and also was able to split off an eight-member bloc of Creditiste members from the opposition coalition. That was enough to ensure the government victory—although it did nothing to solve the basic difficulties of minority government.

The Liberals were left with the necessity to find other ways to raise the taxes they needed to pay their bills. The Liberal leadership race was thrown into confusion. And the Canadian public was given still another example of political bungling. It will take a very strong party leader to restore any semblance of belief on the part of the voters.

Perhaps the most interesting result of the current crisis has been the way in which television became a primary instrument of government. TV, in fact, may have altered permanently the whole Canadian political process. An entirely new and surprising light has been thrown on the role of mass communications. What happens to a country when the whole political system becomes a great, instantaneous television serial?

Of all major countries, Canada is in the best position to use television as part of government. The country is so big, the population so scattered, that the voters need some way of keeping in constant touch with what is going on in Ottawa. This is what happened last week.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, a publicly-owned body like the BBC, gave heavy coverage to the parliamentary crisis. Up until now, the House of Commons has refused to allow TV cameras in the chamber but they lurked outside in the corridors and kept up a live, running report on the debate. In the evening, the highlights were repeated in long documentaries and news reports. On Wednesday, Feb. 21, Prime Minister Pearson himself went on the air to explain his position. Speaking directly to the people, he vigorously attacked the opposition for "trickery." He so enraged the Progressive Conservatives that they made the glaring mistake of trying to have the Prime Minister censured by Parliament.

The running television coverage became a great entertainment; all sides argued issues on the air. Suddenly, the Conservatives found that they were completely outmaneuvered. The TV coverage had gotten through to the public from coast to coast and there were mounting protests against the paralysis of government business. By the time the Conservatives realized that their only hope to bring down the government was through a weeks-long filibuster, they found such a strategy was impossible: television had made that kind of old-fashioned tactics unacceptable.

What had happened was that television was providing the sort of instant referendum long predicted by electronic engineers. For years there have been predictions that the electorate ultimately will vote by pressing buttons attached to their TV sets. It didn't happen quite that way, but the effect was very much the same: for the first time in the electronic age, the voters could make their reactions almost instantly available to the politicians.

The process knocked into a cocked hat the widespread idea that the individual television image—such as that projected by Governor Ronald Reagan—was very important. No single figure, not even the Prime Minister, could dominate the scene for a whole week. The whole crisis became a sort of continuing cliff-hanger with many actors in conflict. Would Mr. Pearson's Liberals (the good guys?) be able to seduce Mr. Real Caouette, leader of Quebec's Creditiste Party? How would Mr. Caouette justify his seeming betrayal of the other opposition parties? Would Mr. Stanfield, the Progressive Conservative leader, make an interesting prime minister? Which cabinet minister looked most seriously hurt by the Liberal bungling at the start?

In two televised conferences last December and more recently, the drama of politicians fighting for their lives among themselves was brought to the Canadian people. At one of them, the epitaph of the daily newspaper was spoken. The Toronto newspapers had been reporting on hopeless conflict among the provincial premiers. Quebec's Premier Daniel Johnson held up a copy of the Toronto *Telegram* and, speaking to the Canadian public as a whole in reasonable tones, said: "You see what lies they print about us? Thank God we have television which brings the people the truth!"

It's difficult to know whether the Canadian television coverage could be applied to the United States, where the system and conditions are quite different. But it's conceivable that television can ultimately provide the continuous political debate needed by any complex civilization.

JOHN DAVID HAMILTON

(John David Hamilton is a broadcaster and writer working chiefly with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in radio and television.)

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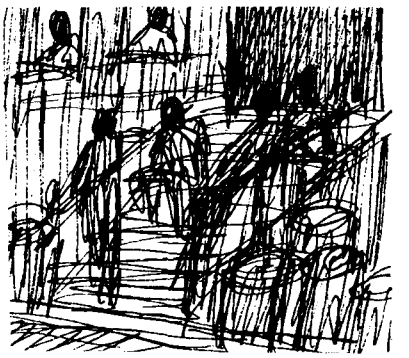
NO END OF PLEDGES

Continuing discrimination in the construction unions

HERBERT HILL



On Feb. 14, 1968, a prominent front-page story in the New York *Times* was headlined: "18 Unions Pledge to Seek Negroes for Building Jobs—Assure Labor Department They Will Try to Prevent Discrimination by Locals." The news account, datelined Bal Harbour, Fla., where the executive board of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO was meeting, reported the exchange of letters between C. J. Haggerty, president of the department, and Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz. Haggerty promised "to foster . . . programs of recruitment of qualified applicants for apprenticeship from the Negro population and other minority groups, and programs for special attention to deficiencies affecting the full qualification of Negro and other minority group applicants, if such exist, and remedy the same, if practical."

The announcement was followed by laudatory editorials, such as that in the *Times,* which hoped that successful application of the program would demonstrate that "both labor and industry are capable of voluntary action to open wider doors to equality and thus help to defuse the social tensions of those too long excluded." Joining in, Secretary Wirtz hailed the so-called agreement as "a major breakthrough," and the *Times* echoed the tone of jubilation, noting that "it has taken the building trades until 1968 to make even a promise to prevent discrimination."

However, those with longer memories are obliged to take a less sanguine view of the promise which, in fact merely repeats a series of similar agreements and promises made over the years and never implemented, either by the unions or by the federal government. Each of the earlier promises was likewise hailed as "a major breakthrough" by the press and the Secretary of Labor, who in 1963 insisted that "the AFL-CIO has laid out its position in a clear way that it will not tolerate discrimination," though conceding to Congressional interrogators that there were still "pockets of obstinacy." Examples abound.

In November, 1962, the heads of 120 AFL-CIO unions signed an anti-bias pledge at the White House at the request of President Kennedy. Vice President Lyndon Johnson, then chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, stated at the time that he considered the pledges "of prime importance" because the unions had "committed themselves" to a program which constituted, according to the Vice President, "a concrete step forward."

On June 23, 1963, in the same month that President Kennedy issued an executive order to prohibit job discrimination at federal projects, the general presidents of the Building and Construction Trades International Unions issued a statement again "Pledging Equal Opportunity." The Construction Industry General Conference, consisting of both unions and employers, publicly reaffirmed the June 21 declaration. Using virtually the same words that appeared in their 1968 "agreement," 18 chiefs of the Building and Construction Unions vowed to "end bias in construction." (The story went on to note that "At the same time, they warned that they would fight any effort by the Government to determine qualifications necessary for admission into the industry and into union membership.") Nevertheless, on June 27, 1963, the N.Y. *Times* reported that Secretary Wirtz had "issued strict new standards . . . designed to prevent racial discrimination in

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labor apprenticeship programs. The new regulation (Title 29, Part 30) authorized the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training to de-register all apprenticeship training programs found to discriminate. The construction unions bitterly protested the new regulations as "unwarranted interference." Yet in the five years since the new ruling was issued, not a single apprenticeship training program has been de-registered—despite the fact that federal and state courts, Fair Employment Practices Commissions and other administrative civil rights agencies have found many of them in violation of anti-discriminatory statutes.

At least part of the blame for this state of affairs rests with the administrator of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, Hugh C. Murphy, formerly an official of the Bricklayers Union in New York City, whose brother is Thomas Murphy, international president of the same union. On April 20, 1967, Murphy issued a memorandum to all BAT regional directors on the subject of compliance with Title 29, in which he reconfirmed his instructions of April 12 and 13 *not* to take any action on the matter. "I repeat," he wrote, "do nothing in the field on compliance follow-up until you are given further instructions from the Administrator's Office." Shortly thereafter it was revealed that over 700 union apprenticeship training programs were in non-compliance while many others had failed to respond at all to the official query of the Department of Labor.

Even a cursory observation of the labor union-government relationship will reveal that little or nothing has been done either to implement union "anti-bias" pledges or enforce existing statutes and executive orders, although not a month has passed since the mass demonstrations in 1963 at public construction sites that the Department of Labor or some other government agency has not announced some new "major breakthrough." What emerges from the last five years is a continuation of exclusion of Negroes on the part of the construction unions in city after city, many of which have been hit by crippling riots.

In Los Angeles shortly after the riots in Watts, civil rights advocates proposed an end to the discriminatory practices of the L.A. building trades unions. It was argued that since federal and state funds were to be made available for the reconstruction of Watts, Negroes should be admitted into the unions that would be supplying the workers. The "lily-white unions" rejected the idea. The secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles County AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Council replied, according to the L.A. *Times*, Sept. 10, 1965, that "since Watts was not officially designated a disaster area, the unions should not take the initiative in trying to change hiring procedures." Since the unions have exclusive hiring arrangements with the contractors' associations, Negroes were barred from new construction jobs within the Watts ghetto and throughout the Los Angeles area.

In New York City, the N.Y.C. Commission on Human Rights, in its 1967 report titled "Bias in the Building Industry," concluded that "the pattern of exclusion in a substantial portion of the building and construction trades [investigated in 1963] . . . still persists. The non-white members of the community . . . continue to be barred from participating in this area of the city's economic life. . . . The unions continue to maintain almost insurmountable barriers to non-white journeymen seeking membership. They continue to be lily-white."

In Cleveland in 1967, after a decade of demonstrations, formal complaints with government agencies, negotiations with union representatives and attempts to secure enforcement of federal executive orders, the five major craft locals in the building trades, according to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, had exactly four Negro apprentices.

Cincinnati was the scene of racial disorders last summer. On July 24, 1967, the U.S. Department of Justice filed a lawsuit in the U.S. District Court in Cincinnati against Local 212, an all-white unit of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, charging it with excluding Negroes from employment. The plaintiff was Anderson L. Dobbins, a college graduate and a certified journeyman electrician. Although the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission found "probable cause," the local union refused to admit Mr. Dobbins.

The New Jersey experience illustrates the futility of demonstrations and the bitter intransigence of the craft unions. In the summer of 1963 the NAACP, with other civil rights organizations, picketed the construction site of Barringer High School in Newark, protesting the exclusion of Negro workers on the project. A year later Negroes picketed the Rutgers University Law School Extension construction site, also in Newark. After an involved series of lawsuits and administrative action against five locals of the Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, the local unions belatedly entered into a stipulation with the N.J. Division on Civil Rights (the State Fair Employment Practices Agency) in 1966 and agreed to admit Negroes for the first time into the union-controlled apprenticeship training programs. Five years after the initial demonstrations, three years after filing complaints with the Division on Civil Rights, and a year after a stipulation that the locals would admit Negroes, not a single Negro has been admitted into any of the five locals. Nor is there a single Negro employed within this union's jurisdiction in the extensive public and private construction in northern New Jersey.

The fact that these and similar situations still exist is witness to what amounts to an administrative nullification of a considerable body of law that specifically prohibits discrimination in public construction. In New York City, for example, the Negro worker is protected from racial discrimination in employment at the federal level through Executive Order #11246, and also by Title VII, the Equal Employment Opportunity section of the Civil

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Rights act of 1964. The New York State Civil Rights law and the State Labor law both specifically prohibit discriminatory practices by labor unions and employers on the grounds of race or color. Section 343-8 of the Administrative Code of the City of New York prohibits discrimination by contractors doing business with municipal agencies.

All state and municipal construction contracts contain a clause pursuant to Section 220-e of the New York State Labor Law which states: "That in the hiring of employees for the performance of work under this contract or any sub-contract hereunder, no contractor, subcontractor, nor any other person acting on behalf of such contractor or subcontractor shall by reason of race, creed, color or national origin, discriminate against any citizen of New York State . . ." Section 220-e, which became law in 1935, has never been enforced; nor has Paragraph 296 of Article 15, 1-a (a) and (b) of Executive Law of 1945 prohibiting racial discrimination in apprenticeship training programs.

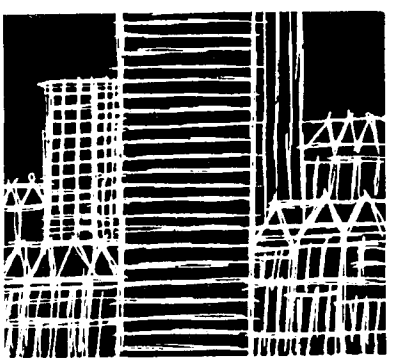
The City of New York adopted a law in 1945, Section 343.8 of the City Administrative Code, requiring that each city construction contract contain a provision making discrimination in employment "a material breach of the contract," permitting the City to cancel such contracts. Not a single contract has ever been canceled and this law has never been enforced.

In addition to prohibiting racial discrimination in employment on state and municipal construction projects, New York State law also specifically bans racial discrimination by labor unions. Section 43 of the Civil Rights Law states "no labor organization shall hereafter directly or indirectly, by ritualistic practice, constitutional, or by law prescription, by tacit agreement among its members, or otherwise, deny a person or persons membership in its organization by reason of race, creed, color or national origin." Violation of this law is punishable by fines up to $500 and jail sentences up to 90 days. This law has never been enforced.

Amendments to the National Labor Relations Act adopted by the Congress in 1947 have clearly outlawed the closed shop. Under federal labor law, union membership must not be a condition of employment. Closed unions, operating closed shops through the device of union hiring halls which refer only union members to jobs, are clearly a violation of the National Labor Relations Act, but this law has never been enforced in the construction industry in New York City.

The Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 clearly outlaws the closed shop. The statute specifically prohibits making initial employment dependent on union membership and bans discrimination in hiring hall arrangements as well as other discrimination based on an employee's membership or non-membership in employment. Such exclusive hiring hall arrangements, which in reality constitute a "lily white" closed shop, are in violation of the decision of the National Labor Relations Board in the case of *Astrove and Plumbers Union Local* 2. In this decision the NLRB explicitly established the legal concept that a union has no right to establish union membership or any other qualification as a condition for employment and that labor unions may not exclude Negroes from membership and prevent them from being employed in public construction. The law established that only the employer can determine qualifications for employment and that any other test is illegal.

To minimize the importance either of the construction industry itself in providing employment or the impact of construction unions' discrimination on the Negro community would be dangerously erroneous. In the 1968-69 fiscal period, over $77.5 billion will be spent for construction; the Department of Housing and Urban Devel-



opment during the fiscal period 1966-67 was alone responsible for some 465,000 man-years of employment. During this period, $5.5 billion in construction projects were involved; thanks to the Model Cities program, this sum is due for considerable expansion. In domestic military construction, another example of federal involvement in the industry, last year's Congressional appropriation was over $4 billion.

Construction is an expanding industry that will require, according to reliable estimates, a million more new workers by 1975, and acute job shortages already exist in many areas of the country. But, despite this fact, the unions continue to discriminate, violating—with tacit and often overt federal complicity—the numerous laws regarding discriminatory practices. In New York City alone not one public edifice has been constructed during the last half-century that has not been the work of labor provided by craft unions which systematically deprive Negroes of the right to work in the craft jurisdictions they rigidly control through exclusive hiring hall arrangements with contractors. An example of the consequences of the anti-Negro practices is provided by the U.S. Census Bureau, which reported that in 1950 there were exactly 2,190 Negro apprentices in the industry; in 1960, ten years later, there were 2,191 Negroes in apprenticeship training programs.

However, it is against the background of rising opposition to this pattern of discrimination in the construction

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unions as well as the political weight of the AFL-CIO that the latest "agreement" must be seen. By February, 1968, the federal government was on the verge of instituting genuine compliance with the various anti-discriminatory statutes and orders. On May 17, 1967, the federal District Court in Columbus, Ohio, ruled that government officials who award public works contracts to contractors who use "lily-white" union hiring halls as the exclusive source of labor, or who enter into collective bargaining agreements with unions that operate illegal closed shops, violate the constitutional rights of Negroes and provide a legal base for cutting off federal funds. As a result of the NAACP victory in the case of *Etheridge v Rhodes,* the Office of Federal Contract Compliance withheld over $44 million earmarked for federally assisted construction projects in Ohio because of discriminatory practices by both labor unions and contractors. The Justice Department began in 1967 to institute lawsuits against major Building Trades unions in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Las Vegas and other cities. Seven days before Secretary Wirtz announced the new anti-bias pledges of the unions, the Department of Justice filed civil suits against the Steamfitters Local 250 and the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Local 73. The Justice Department charged that "there are no Negroes among the 3,000 members of the Steamfitting and Industrial Pipefitting Division of the Steamfitting union, or the 400 members of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting union. . . . Neither has Negro apprentices." In the areas serviced by each union, Los Angeles and Indianapolis, respectively, the Justice Department observed that "each union controls a substantial portion of the employment opportunities in its geographical and occupational area."

In addition there was some indication that the office of Federal Contract Compliance was now prepared for the first time to begin canceling contracts for public construction. The riots and pressures developing around the issue of employment under the Model Cities program helped to foster a disposition in federal agencies to begin enforcing civil rights laws and Executive orders. The unions, however, reacted negatively to the idea and balked at plans to hire local ghetto residents for construction projects in their area. AFL-CIO President George Meany, decrying the lowering of apprenticeship standards, "reflected a growing concern among union leaders, particularly in the building trades, about Government pressures—through proposed revisions in apprenticeship regulations and hiring requirements under the new Model Cities program—to open the doors wider for Negro membership in the skilled trade unions" (New York *Times,* Dec. 2, 1967). His concern was directed at the new order issued earlier last year by the Department of Labor, which would have prohibited the consideration of bids for federal work from contractors and sub-contractors practicing any form of discrimination or segregation. The new code also would have made it mandatory for the contractor *in his initial bid* to certify that neither he nor any of his subcontractors had any segregated labor facilities either by policy or practice.

However, on the threshold of belated enforcement, Secretary Wirtz indicated that the unions would still be permitted to operate the same structure of hiring control that has enabled the craft unions to exclude Negro journeymen and apprentices. Fusing the close relationship between Mr. Meany and President Johnson, who is now counting heavily that the AFL-CIO will be able to hold its constituent unions from defection to the Republican or third party camp, Secretary Wirtz in his speech before the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department Convention in December, 1967, reassured the leaders of the craft unions that they need have no fear that the Government was about to begin its threatened enforcement. Illustrating the effectiveness of the political trade, Secretary Wirtz commented that "any rule which provides that there must be one or any other number of people of one or any other race on every craft, on every job, is wrong, and it won't work. . . ." As he visualized it before an assembly progressively relaxing to his words, the problem was not one of enforcement by the Government but of "how we fit together the traditions of the trade union, the craft union movement, and particularly of the apprenticeship program, and also the demands now made increasingly insistent with respect to what we have called in a shorthand phrase 'equal opportunity.' "

Thus the stage was set for the announcement that the government was once again to permit the craft unions to reform themselves; and it is within this context that the February, 1968 "agreement" was concluded shortly thereafter, indicating that the unions will continue to be able to maintain their traditional immunity from the law and Executive orders, further frustrating the legitimate demands of the Negro community for an equal opportunity for employment that remains but a promise. However, as the summer approaches with the violence that is certain to accompany it, public officials should be reminded that those who fail to enforce the laws that protect the rights of Negro citizens are as guilty of breaking "law and order" as those who will be throwing Molotov cocktails in the ghetto streets.

AN APPEAL: Bishop Seitz of Kontum, South Vietnam, seeks help for thousands of war refugees in his diocese. "They need food, clothing, shelter and—most of all—medical attention. Three out of four babies are dying. 60 percent are starving or sick . . . the only wish of these innocent people is to live their lives in peace." Cash, checks or money orders sent to the following address will be forwarded to Kontum airmail: Most Rev. Paul L. Seitz, c/o Second National Bank of Nashua, 191 Main St., Nashua, N.H. 03060.

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THE HOLY PLACES

WILLIAM KOREY

Last June, shortly after the Arab-Israeli war, the Vatican circulated a note at the United Nations which insisted that the whole city of Jerusalem, not just the Holy Places, must be considered a *corpus separatum* that ought to be placed under an "international regime." Only such a regime, it was argued, would be able to prevent "incidents" and maintain free access to the Holy Places. Six months later, however, in an address to the College of Cardinals on Dec. 22, Pope Paul discussed the Holy Places in Jerusalem but avoided any reference to internationalization. By the close of 1967 it had become apparent that at the heart of the Jerusalem issue were three related questions: 1) Were major world Christian institutions prepared to enter into a special arrangement with Israel which would assure the universal character of the Holy Places? 2) Would local Christian bodies in Jerusalem be satisfied with the autonomous self-administering authority that Israel has provided? 3) Could Israel effectively safeguard the Holy Places from any desecrations and guarantee access to them by pilgrims and tourists? The developments offer an affirmative answer to each.

Once the two parts of Jerusalem were joined, after the Six-Day War, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban gave expression to Israel's traditional view that the Holy Places would have an international or universal character. In a letter to Secretary-General U Thant on July 11, he wrote: ". . . in a spirit of concern for historic and spiritual tradition, my Government has taken steps with a view to reaching arrangements to insure the universal character of the Holy Places. In pursuance of this objective, the Government of Israel has now embarked on a constructive and detailed dialogue with representatives of universal religious interests. If these explorations are as fruitful as we hope and expect, the universal character of the Holy Places will for the first time in recent decades find effective expression."

Among those "explorations" was the key one with the Vatican. In the second week of July, Monsignor Angelo Felici flew to Jerusalem at the invitation of Israeli officials. Israel was reported to have assured the Vatican that she would agree to a juridical formula establishing a "universal status" for the Holy Places, therewith according a certain recognition to the principle of extraterritoriality.

The fruitfulness of the continuing dialogue was reflected in Pope Paul's Dec. 22 statement. He declared that the crux of the Holy Places' question was the safeguarding of access and worship "through the observance of proper statutes which could be guaranteed by an institution of international character. . . ." The statutes would be the juridical instrument by which the universal interests would be assured, with the guarantor apparently being such an international institution as either the UN or the World Court.

The pilgrimages to Bethlehem on the eve of Christmas offer supporting evidence of Israeli capability to safeguard and administer the Holy Places. Thousands gathered at the Holy Places and no untoward incidents occurred, even though Arab terrorist threats had warned of disturbances and violence. Israel has demonstrated her ability to guarantee undiminished access to the Christian Holy Places and to safeguard their integrity.

On June 27, the Israeli legislature adopted a law stipulating that the state was committed to protect the Holy Places from "desecration and anything likely to violate the freedom of access" to them. Stiff penalties were enacted to buttress the commitment. This was hardly surprising since the question of access to and sanctity of Holy Places had been a matter of the deepest concern to Israelis during the time that Jordan administered the Old City.

Jordan had forbidden Israeli Jews to visit the following Holy Places: the Wailing (or Western) Wall; Rachel's Tomb; the Cave of Machpelah; and the Cemetery of the Mount of Olives. This ban on access was in violation of the Armistice Agreement of April 3, 1949, which promised Israelis "access to the Holy Places and cultural institutions and use of the cemetery on the Mount of Olives." Ironically, even Israeli Christians and Muslims were forbidden access to their respective Holy Places.

Moreover, Jewish Holy Places had been systematically desecrated. Tombstones in the Mount of Olives cemetery had been uprooted to build walls in secular buildings and the cemetery grounds were violated. Of the numerous synagogues that had existed there, only one remained intact, the others having been razed or destroyed.

Before the Six-Day War, Israel had kept open its own Christian Holy Places and facilitated opportunities for pilgrims and tourists to cross its borders into the religious shrines controlled by Jordan. A characteristic comment was the following, addressed by the Latin Patriarch's representative to the Israeli Foreign Minister: "May I congratulate you on the arrangements made by your Gov-

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ernment in the past Holy Year for the visit, in absolute security and in a spirit of cooperation, of Christian pilgrims from many countries to the Holy Places in Jerusalem and Nazareth."

A joint statement of prominent American theologians on July 12 gave witness to Israel's record "over the last 20 years" in providing access to Christian shrines. They concluded that the record "inspires confidence that the interests of all religions [in Jerusalem] will be faithfully honored."

1968 has been declared to be International Human Rights Year and mankind has been enjoined to make every effort to safeguard the dignity of the individual and to protect his cherished beliefs. One of the testing grounds for effective commemoration of the Year may well prove to be Jerusalem.

an exchange of views

THE TROUBLED PRIEST

In a tape-recorded conversation published in the Feb. 16 issue, five priests discussed the nature of the priesthood and the role of the priest today. In response to the editors' request, four well-known authors offered the following observations about the Symposium.

ROBERT ADOLFS

After careful reading and analysis of "The Troubled Priest," I became aware of a basic theme running through the whole discussion. The priest in search of a new, meaningful existence is troubled because he is continually and effectively frustrated by the Church-as-institution, the Church as an impersonal system.

In his conscience the priest is convinced that drastic changes should take place in Church structures and attitudes. But he finds himself powerless and helpless. He is bound hide and hair to the institution; he is confused because he is torn between loyalty to his Church and his commitments to the needs of people and of the world. The system of the Church-institution is totalitarian; that means it is "total" and outside its totality there seems no room for the priest to work and to exist.

The priest is troubled because the Church as an institution and as a system has become corrupt. The really concerned and committed Christian is beginning to see how the Church-system has become an obstacle for acting out the faith relevantly when confronted with the realities of today's society. The priest who becomes aware of this finds himself in a most painful and vulnerable position. He begins to hate "the system," but at the same time he is part of it. This condition becomes emotionally unbearable for some; they leave the priesthood and sometimes even the Church. Others believe that they have to stay on, in order to reform "the system" from within. For a long time that was my own position. However, I am beginning to doubt more and more that we can reform the Church-institution in this manner. In all honesty I must admit this. It hurts. But gradually I have become convinced that "the system" must first come apart. Not much perception is necessary to see the cracks in the Church-structures and the handwriting on the ecclesiastical wall. Indeed, the Church system *is* disintegrating. The indications of a general *malaise* are just too manifold and too obvious to be ignored.

Many may regard this viewpoint as pessimistic. However, I feel that pessismism is not a Christian category, but "the cross" is. In my opinion, we must discover our contemporary cross, and if we have discovered it, we must be willing to carry it. The cross of our time and of our generation is the downfall and eventual destruction of a Church-system. Still, we haven't any idea how painful it is to bear this cross, especially for priests. But, as believing Christians, we must also know that "the cross" is never isolated from that other Christian category "the resurrection." Our condition may be compared with the Emmaus-situation. It is the difficult "in between" position. And if we find it hard to envisage the new Christian community rising from the ashes, we may be addressed as "foolish, and slow of heart to believe" (Luke 24,25).

For those who are struggling on the road to Emmaus, allow me to offer a few unpretentious thoughts. Unwittingly, we keep making the same mistake: identifying the Church-as-institution with The People of God. For those who really want to *see*, a new People of God is being born and is already "on the way." It is breaking through the old institutional limits and even through the traditional denominational barriers. People find each other in a common concern for truth, for justice, peace, brotherhood, human rights, open housing, racial equality, the social outcasts, the suppressed, the afflicted and the lonely ones. At the same time there is a strong desire to celebrate this new community. I don't know if the "Underground Church" is the answer, but it is a significant indication of "something new on the rise." It is important to sense and "see" this new community, and if we have discov-

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ered it, to enter. This new community (Church, if you want) may act on a provisional confession of faith, which I am here tentatively trying to articulate for Christians:

I believe in man,
and in a world, in which
it is good to live for all mankind;
and that it is our task
to create such a world.
I believe in equal rights for all men,
in love, justice, brotherhood and peace.
I must continually act out these beliefs.
I am inspired to do so, because I believe in Jesus of Nazareth,
and I want to orientate my life to him.
In doing so, I believe that I
am drawn into the mysterious relationship
with the one, whom he called his Father.
Because of my belief in Jesus,
I make no claims to exclusivity.
I shall work together with others
for a better world.
I believe in the community of the faithful,
and in our task to be the salt of the earth
and the light of the world,
but all this in humility,
carrying my cross every day.
And I believe in the resurrection,
whatever it may mean.
Amen.

CHARLES DAVIS

In reading your symposium, "The Troubled Priest," my interest was fully engaged only in the last two columns when the Editor at long last raised the question of belief. But then it was to shudder at the cant with which the question was passed over.

We are told that the problem of faith is "partly a problem of language," as if this ameliorated the problem instead of merely indicating it. Then the discovery is proffered that there is no problem of faith if faith is "related to just living in general and to the humanity of Jesus Christ"—a discovery which certainly removes the problem, but does so by removing faith. After that, why keep the word? It is enough if young people "accept the values of Christianity even if only unconsciously."

Needless to say, we do not escape without the usual theological sedatives. What is important is belief *in* not belief *about*. No guidance is given on how or why we are to believe *in* Jesus Christ without some belief *about* his person and function. Nor is it stated how commitment to Jesus Christ can be distinguished from supercharged emotion without some criteria of belief. As usual, all present problems are postponed to an indefinite future by the word "development" as a magical spell.

Much of the recent writing about "troubled priests" and similar issues is froth because it dodges the question of faith. What has happened in the Roman Catholic Church is the cessation of belief in the doctrines to which it appealed for its legitimation as an institution. The teaching it elaborated to provide a charter for its existence and sanction for its authority as a Church, or rather *the* Church, has lost its credibility and is regarded as little more than fiction by many Catholics. In brief, the Roman Catholic Church no longer has a serviceable myth. This failure of the institutional myth is felt in an unformulated manner well beyond the circles of those who know that the papal and episcopal claims have been shorn of their biblical warrant and that the well-used criteria for discerning the true Church militate against rather than for the present structure and its functioning.

The reason why there is such a widespread if unformulated perception of the collapse of the traditional myth is that this collapse affects not just the over-all structure but all the institutional roles. The papacy, episcopate and priesthood have in the past withstood difficulties greater in themselves than the present tensions. The new element in the present crisis is that these institutions are now being seen stripped of any veil of mystification thrown over them by doctrinal legitimations. They are being considered with the cold clarity of a secular intelligence, and the institutional myths of papacy, episcopate and priesthood, even as reformulated in the Second Vatican Council, are not taken seriously enough and do not now have sufficient force to provide an adequate mystification of the unsatisfactory working of those institutions.

In short, priests are troubled because they no longer believe in their priesthood, when understood as an institutional role deriving its identity and legitimation from the institution to which they belong. Hence they are engaged in inventing a new role and a new legitimation—a frustrating task because of the general loss of legitimation and consequent disintegration of the institution in which they are seeking their new role.

Belief is distinguished from a mere wish or emotional impulse only in so far as we acknowledge that some other

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statements could count for or against holding it. To refuse any criteria for a belief is to escape into irrationality. I am still waiting for someone to give me one good reason for belonging to the Roman Catholic Church and its priesthood when the doctrines which legitimate those institutions are rejected. Certainly, the reluctance of Roman Catholics to see the question of the Church in terms of faith is leading them into an irrationality in matters of belief that endangers the Christian faith. I personally am more concerned that priests should remain Christians rather than priests—their priesthood is only a transitory institutional role now passing into desuetude.

JOHN A. O'BRIEN

Commonweal's symposium on "The Troubled Priest" renders a much needed service to the Church by disclosing the causes of the unprecedented exodus of hundreds of priests and the decline in vocations. Most of the "rank and file" of priests, 62 percent of whom in Father Fichter's survey favor making celibacy optional, would agree, I believe, with Father Drane's statement: "I think that celibacy, more than anything else, is deterring normal, balanced young men from coming into the priesthood."

Letters to me from priests and prelates in many lands express that conviction. Thus, His Beatitude, Maximos IV Saigh, Melkite Patriarch of Antioch and of all the East, and a Roman Cardinal, earnestly pleaded for a reconsideration of the law making celibacy a necessary condition for ordination in the Latin Rite Church. In a letter dated Sept. 3, 1967, the Patriarch stated: "Our conclusions retain their validity even after the publication of the recent encyclical of the pope on ecclesiastical celibacy. There is no doubt that celibacy 'for the sake of the kingdom' is possible, desirable and even superior to marriage. *But is it necessary that it be a condition obligatory and sine qua non for the priesthood? There alone lies the question.* One could continue to speak forever about the dignity of celibacy and its advantages. But that is not where the difficulty lies. . . ."

In pointing out the failure of the encyclical to distinguish between the vocation to the priesthood and the vocation to virginity, which is the crucial issue of the whole discussion, Patriarch Maximos conforms to the specific request of the encyclical, which invites scholars to "look openly at the principal objections against the law that links ecclesiastical celibacy with the priesthood."

Confirming the reasoning of Patriarch Maximos that the encyclical fails to come to grips with the central issue underlying the whole discussion, Father Yves Congar, the noted French Dominican theologian, writes me: "I am certainly in agreement with you in thinking that the encyclical has not said the last word on this question. It does not respond in a completely satisfactory way to the question that it raises, namely, the gap between the vocation to the ministry and the vocation to celibacy. That is the essential question."

Especially moving are the words which the great Patriarch Maximos addresses to Pope Paul VI: "In regard to the Latin clergy, all that I propose to lay before your Holiness is the wish that your Holiness would set up a commission in order to study this problem in open discussion. Holy Father, this problem exists and is becoming more difficult from day to day. It demands a solution. It is useless to close our eyes to this problem or consider it taboo. Your Holiness knows very well that truths on which silence is maintained turn to poison."

This moving appeal should be carried in every Catholic newspaper and magazine and framed in every rectory and seminary so that the resultant discussion will bring out clearly the unwisdom of linking compulsory bachelorhood to the priesthood—a requirement of which neither Our Lord nor the Apostles had ever heard and which is contrary to the practice of virtually all the Apostles. Indeed, it contradicts the truth solemnly proclaimed by Pope Paul VI in *Populorum Progressio:* "Where the inalienable right to marriage and procreation is lacking, human dignity has ceased to exist."

WILLIAM DuBAY

Your selection of priests for the discussion was excellent and the cross-section of views that emerged was a good replica of the opinions of priests across the country. The discussion was a most welcome contribution to the conversation that must take place concerning these urgently-felt problems.

Without responding in detail to the various positions expressed, I would like to point out that perhaps the priests of the symposium said more than they had intended. The almost complete lack of agreement on any issue is a most familiar situation among priests and may be an indication of the source of all their problems.

Priests are great ones for getting together, often arguing at great length about their situations, coming to little consensus about any course of action, then each going off in his own direction, feeling justified by his own present theological fad. This apparent lack of solidarity indicates an individualism that is perhaps one of the major obstacles to the reform of the Church.

Many priests are still unaware of the fantastic power they wield within the Church, just by reason of the fact that they do the lion's share of the Church's work. They could conceivably bring the Roman Catholic Church to a close tomorrow—if they wanted to. *A fortiori,* they could all get married tomorrow or accomplish whatever desired goal they might agree upon—if they wanted to. But they seem more willing to sit around and complain or leave the priesthood.

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This failure to co-operate with one another calls into question their loyalties to one another, to themselves, and to the people they serve. And if they have such difficulty working with one another, how can they be expected to co-operate (in the deepest sense of the word) with their bishops? This brings up a point touched upon in the symposium but left unresolved—the question of the essence of the priesthood. There really can be no definition of the priesthood in the modern world—or any other age—out of the context of the *episcopacy* from which it is derived. And yet we priests often are unwilling to accept the fact that our function within the Church cannot be defined except in terms of our relationship with our bishop. With all the talk we hear about "facing our situation in the light of the gospel," we are unwilling to acknowledge that "our situation" consists above all in our relationship with the bishop. And until this relationship is more humanely structured and controlled, the effectiveness of the priest within or outside of the structures of the Church will be severely curtailed.

Many priests feel that the problems they face with their superiors are unique and without parallel in secular institutions. That is not true. Not only do priests who take up another profession discover another hierarchy as difficult as the one they ran away from, but they also discover that they are just as incapable of dealing with it in the new situation. Problems are not solved but created by trying to run away from them.

We also make the mistake of believing that problems will be solved merely by better communication with our bishops. But communication often demands a lot more than words to express an urgency of concern and responsibility. Sometimes action, and even drastic action, is called for. We must remember that in no institution are there structures for the *establishment* of controls upon the use of authority. This type of social change can be effected only by raising the level of tension within a relationship—as the Immaculate Heart Sisters are doing in Los Angeles right now. And, needless to say, it can hardly be done by individuals acting on their own.

In his new book, *Uncertain Trumpet, The Priest in Modern America* (Sheed and Ward), Andrew Greeley calls for a seminar approach to teaching rather than a lecture or classroom setting. He writes that the seminar "is the best model available for the structure of a human community which is dedicated primarily to the exploration of experience and the increase of self-awareness." As true as this may be, the use of the seminar approach is not the option of the individual priest or teacher, but of the institutions that employ them. Just like many teachers, priests emerge from college filled with new ideas and ready to use the new and effective approaches of teaching. And just like teachers, priests are quickly worn down by the up-the-down-staircase barrage of conflicting professional demands coming from the administration. But unlike the teachers who are now militantly organizing in every part of the country, priests have not yet realized their own responsibilities in Christianizing and professionalizing their relationship with their superiors, thereby protecting their right to employ the best pastoral methods.

We often talk about secularizing the Church. But we fail to utilize the methods developed in secular institutions to solve the secular aspects of our problems. This results from both lack of understanding and lack of nerve.

VARIETIES OF INNOCENCE

THE SCREEN

Maybe it's good for us to have some new films made in old-fashioned styles every now and then. They are likely to make us more appreciative of modern techniques, and they may even send us back to the old masters for another look with renewed respect. In any case, we're suddenly getting a bunch of these new-old-fashioned movies; perhaps the notes below will help you decide which are for you.

From France has come "The Two of Us," a gentle and beguiling picture in spite of its World War II setting. When I saw this film at the Berlin Film Festival last summer, it was called "Le Vieil Homme et L'Enfant," perhaps a better title as the movie actually is about the very old man and the little boy who is sent to live with him and his wife for the duration. The boy, who says at the picture's beginning, "In November, 1943, I was 8-years-old and already a Jew," is beautifully played by Alain Cohen who, without being objectionably precocious, admirably succeeds in conveying high-spirited deviltry and a wisdom far beyond his years. Again and again he outsmarts his host, the old man, played to perfection by Michel Simon, who now adds another to his distinguished career of first-rate performances for which he was recently honored in a festival at the Museum of Modern Art. This time he's a lovable curmudgeon who's not always lovable, especially in his anti-Semitism and Nazi-Vichy ideas, and not always a curmudgeon when he allows his warmth and kindness to belie his tough, wrinkled face.

What makes "The Two of Us" so endearing is its realistic and moving portrayal of the friendship and love that develop between the boy, who was trained by his parents before leaving never to reveal that he is Jewish, and the old man, who bullies the lad a little but unknowingly loses all the arguments with the clever kid. "If Christ chose to be a Jew at the time of the Roman occupation, he knew what he was doing." Along with the fine performances of the two leads are the good portraits by the supporting players, especially Luce Fabiole as the old man's old wife, and Charles Denner as the boy's father.

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Claude Berri also deserves a hand for his good direction and script. I wish, however, he hadn't made his film quite so episodic, like a series of incidents (some of which are just padding) strung together. In spite of this and its old-fashioned movie-telling, "The Two of Us" is still richly rewarding for its acting and stirring themes.

It's interesting that "Half a Sixpence," a pleasant little English musical show that was so successful both in England and the U.S., should be such a failure as a movie—interesting, but sad in a way. The show was based on H. G. Wells' nice little 1905 novel about a draper's apprentice who inherits money and is on his way to marrying an upper-class girl and becoming a snob before he wakes up and returns to his housemaid fiancée and the simple life. Several years ago this story was made into a charming little movie with Michael Redgrave in the lead. But now the whole thing has been expanded into a big and elaborate two-and-a half hour movie that is just another undistinguished two-and-a-half hour movie.

The secret of the Wells novel, the old movie, and the stage show is in the word little; and once all this charm and littleness were enlarged on a widescreen with extravagant production numbers and a lot of big whoop-la, the thinness of the story and the slightness of David Heneker's musical score become too apparent. "Half a Sixpence" has its assets: a handsome re-creation of the Edwardian period in some lovely Technicolor photography; some beautiful English sets like the village of Tunbridge Wells, Henley-on-Thames, and Blenheim Palace; and, for those who like him, smiling Tommy Steele dancing and singing like the over-worked star he is. And Tommy as Kipps has two very attractive girls to court: Penelope Horner as the upper-class beauty, and Julia Foster as the poor girl he returns to. No doubt producer-director George Sidney is mainly responsible for the grossness of "Half a Sixpence." I wish someone would have thought of cutting the budget, cutting it down, down. I'll bet "Kipps" as "Sixpence" could have made a charming, little, intimate movie.

It's been a long time since I've seen anything by Noel Coward, and I'm not sure how "Design for Living" or "The Vortex" would stand up now; but I am sure that "A Matter of Innocence," which is based on Noel Coward's story, *Pretty Polly*, is an old dodo that doesn't stand up today. Its plot is about a mousey, little English girl (Hayley Mills) who's taken on a world cruise by her domineering aunt (Brenda De Banzie) and who is dumped, when her aunt dies in Singapore, into the care of her reprobate uncle (Trevor Howard) and a designing gigolo (Shashi Kapoor).

Unfortunately Guy Green's direction of "Innocence" is so slow and dragging that the film seems to take as long as the two days it is supposedly covering, two days, by the way, during which the girl, mainly under the gigolo's guidance, is supposed to be growing up by learning about smoking, alcohol and sex. This story is so dated and stodgy that it could be older than "Kipps." And the good cast can do little for it, although Shashi Kapoor, the fine Indian actor whom we saw in "Shakespeare Wallah" and "The Householder," once again makes a very favorable impression. "A Matter of Innocence," however, does not.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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HARD-BOILED

THE STAGE

A Day in the Death of Joe Egg (as it is called in England; here, where death does not sell, it became plain *Joe Egg*) is a two-act play with a strong first act, a shaky second, and a sorely missed third. You should see it: though Peter Nichols, the author, will someday do better, you could right now do a great deal worse.

Joe Egg concerns a young teacher, his wife, and their spastic vegetable of a daughter, the eponymous Joe Egg. The mother loves the child and hopes; the father, though also loving, finds solace in jokes. Brian and Sheila's marriage is undermined by this child, whom Sheila thinks of as punishment for her (rather mild) premarital promis-

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cuity, and Bri as a chunk of the world's preposterousness and a potent rival for his wife's affection. The first act is a series of boldly etched, deftly linked vignettes in which the couple's past and present are shown, as it were, in superimposition. Bri converts the pitiful yet sometimes ludicrous highlights of Life with Joe into a spate of comic turns in which he satirically enacts anyone out of the past: doctors, nurses, Viennese specialists, vicars who believe in the laying on of hands, even imaginary radio commentators. Sheila usually plays the straight man—meaning herself—in order to humor Bri; Joe is impersonated by a cushion that gets cradled, pummeled and tossed.

Much of this is very funny, and none of it strikes me as a sick joke. The butt of these routines is never the child; rather it is the world and people around it whose inadequacies and crassness are ridiculed, with Joe merely the catalyst. Moreover, these vaudeville turns represent a last-ditch stand against the collapse of morale and marriage, which lends them a peculiar dignity, almost a nobility. But there is more: what is an age that has found its hopes unfounded, its faiths obsolete, to fall back on? It can either, like Sheila, hope against hope; or, like Bri, jest at scars. The joke becomes the ultimate defiance hurled at cosmic despair, and it may be as good as any. Better mock life than be mocked by it.

Coiled around these comic routines and occasionally popping up right in the middle of them is the couple's present: affection, frustration, and a steady flow of almost benign bickering. Bri is a mother's boy, extremely clever but unstable and spoiled. Sheila is full of womanly and motherly love, thwarted by not being able to have more babies besides these two, Joe and Bri, neither of whom will grow up. So she dabbles (untalentedly) in amateur dramatics, he tinkers (talentedly) with painting, and both play constantly, lovingly and maddeningly, on each other's nerves.

There is also a four-piece band halfway into the wings stage left, which actually plays a few bars before the characters of the play launch into soliloquies. This device is borrowed from *A Taste of Honey*, where it didn't work either. The only other borrowing is less marked: something about the relationship of Brian and Sheila, down to the very game-playing, suggests Jimmy and Alison in *Look Back in Anger*. I cannot think of a specific source for the soliloquies, though I would like to be able to blame them on something external. Actually they are not bad, but there is something a bit too easy about the device.

The second act, like the marriage, falls apart. It is not so much that the affluent couple who come to visit are, though frequently funny, very close to caricature; or that Bri's mother, though a skillful blend of the idiosycratic and the universal, remains somehow marginal; it is rather that the play now turns melodramatic, unconvincing, and, in its ending, factitious. I think the trouble here is that in the first part Mr. Nichols was drawing

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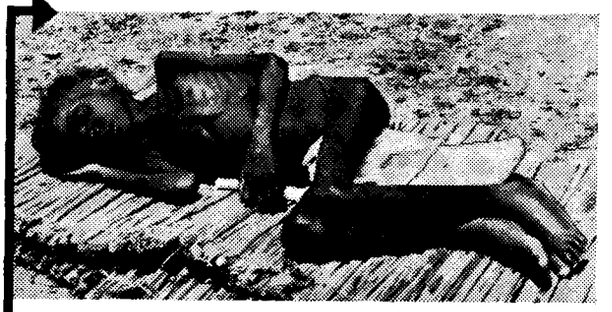

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on his own experience (life in Bristol, a spastic child, teaching school and hating it) which he enriched with his imagination. In the second half, he was trying for a "plot," and had going for him neither lived experience nor true imaginative and emotional involvement in an "action" tacked onto what is essentially a static situation. Yet there are perfectly good ways of making stasis dramatic, as playwrights from Aeschylus to Beckett have discovered.

There are also lesser weaknesses in *Joe Egg*. Thus I counted five instances of the joke of mistaken reference, when a character connects some remark with the wrong antecedent, e.g., "I should have her destroyed" with Joe, when what is actually meant is "The cat—if she has fleas." But lesser flaws disappear behind the delightful performances. Albert Finney is—he can't help it—a star, which is too much for the will-o'-the-wisp Bri; yet how charmingly he plays down his bravura, how intelligently he conveys the ambiguities of wit, the ambivalence of feelings that did not grow up. And his impersonation of an Oxbridge vicar, the last word in muscular Christianity ludicrously trying to be with it—indeed, just the way his pipe smokes him rather than vice versa—is a piece of unalloyed histrionic brilliance.

As Sheila, Zena Walker is absolutely right: sweet without cloying, sturdy without the least loss of femininity, absurdly hopeful without becoming absurd. Among the three able supporting players (Joe is not done very well, but the part hardly exists) I especially liked Joan Hickson as Bri's mother. She has flawless comic decorum, which means getting every possible laugh without pushing, and every bit of implied seriousness without stepping outside comedy. And Michael Blakemore has directed with inobtrusive efficiency.

In his "Observations on Egges," Sir Thomas Browne describes a curious hen's egg that some might think derived from "the coition . . . of a duck wh. sometimes will follow & at least attempt to tread henns." There is something as ill-mated about the two acts of Mr. Nichols' ovoid. Nevertheless, for the good parts of *Joe Egg* and for what Nichols will yet, I believe, give us, I am willing to forgive him much—even his collaboration on the screenplay of *Georgy Girl*. (*At the Brooks Atkinson*)

JOHN SIMON

BOOKS

Turning from the God "who is" to the God "who will be"

On Not Leaving It To The Snake

HARVEY COX

Macmillan, $4.95

RICHARD L. RUBENSTEIN

Harvey Cox is a theologian with a superb gift for relevance, and his new book is further confirmation of his stature and of his sophisticated concern with the meaning of his time and culture. As the title indicates, he is very much the religious activist. He contends that man's most debilitating sin is not pride but sloth. He pleads for a doctrine of sin which will encourage autonomy and responsibility for the human future rather than an attitude of dependence and deference.

Cox's activism and his rejection of death-of-God theology have made him responsive to the future-oriented theologies of hope which have recently begun to attract attention on this side of the Atlantic. Although Cox admits that he finds most "theistic" formulations unattractive, he is unable to join Thomas J. J. Altizer or William Hamilton in their Christian atheism. As he had already indicated in Daniel Callahan's *The Secular City Debate*, he finds a future-oriented theology an attractive option.

He acknowledges a debt to Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and the Marxist philosopher Ernest Bloch. Cox sees man as a "creature who hopes." Following Teilhard and Bloch, Cox regards reality as a radically open-ended process and he asks that theology turn from the God "who is" to the God "who will be." Since Cox regards man as God's full partner in bringing about a future replete with promise, he insists that religion must enter the arena of political action. Cox reaffirms his faith in a contemporary version of the prophetic God of history. He is, however, far less interested in what God has done in history than in what He promises to do in the partnership with man.

There is an almost dialectic necessity to Cox's stress on the God "who will be." The death-of-God theologians have made belief in the God "who is" exceedingly difficult. The problem is perhaps more pressing for Protestants than for Jews or Roman Catholics. Both Jews and Catholics have ritual, liturgical and institutional structures with a somewhat autonomous life capable of withstanding contemporary challenges to belief. It is difficult for Protestants to abandon faith. Most Protestant churches have few ritual and institutional structures going for them. Without faith they may have little left.

Death-of-God theology presents Protestant faith with problems of enormous magnitude. Understandably, some Protestants have retreated into faith in the future, the last domain available for human credulity after the collapse of belief in the divine transcendence, and a repository for the hopes and yearnings

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which the present fails to yield. Given his need for a theology resting on religious faith rather than religious structures, Cox probably had little choice but to turn to a theology of the future. His sympathy with nondoctrinaire Marxism is also understandable. Marxism is a nonreligious version of the same need to believe in the future once faith in the transcendent has collapsed. The domain of human belief has narrowed greatly in our era and the need for hope has enlarged. Only the future remains as the arena beyond empirical warrant, available for faith and hope. Future-oriented Marxists and future-oriented Christians are responding to much the same collapse of faith.

But is there any real justification for such ideologies of the future? Should they collapse, as well they may, will not the human condition be more savage than if the illusions had never existed in the first place? Do not both Cox and the Marxists confuse radical alterations in technology with transformations in humanity itself? Where is the psychological irony in Cox's theology? One looks in vain for any suggestion that even were all of mankind's external problems to be solved, the dilemmas of the inner man would not thereby be diminished. Has religion no meaning for the interior life of man?

The evidence may point to an altogether different assessment of the human condition. Every technological advance may carry with it unanticipated social and psychological problems. The solution of one set of human dilemmas may only introduce another. This does not mean that we must retreat into political inaction. We have to race ahead in order to remain in the same place. Camus' image of Sisyphus, rolling his stone up the hill in the full knowledge that he will have to repeat the process endlessly, may offer a more accurate image of man than Cox's vision of man forever projecting himself into a yet-to-be-realized promised land.

Marshall McLuhan has suggested that an alternative response to contemporary technology may be in the making. Cox is aware of McLuhan's views but rejects them. McLuhan's insight that the linear sense of time belongs to the pre-electronic world of the Book is a challenge to a theology of linear time such as Cox's theology of the future. McLuhan maintains that electronic technology, with its "turned-on" culture, leads to the reappearance of archaic man as a dominant type. If McLuhan is correct, there can be no theology of hope, for post-modern man will experience time as did archaic man, as a circle forever returning to its origin rather than as a straight line moving to a messianic realization.

McLuhan's insights have enormous theological relevance. If we are in fact becoming archaic, in the specific sense meant by McLuhan and Mircea Eliade, religion will tend to become more priestly and less prophetic. If McLuhan is correct, the direction of twentieth-century religion may very well be opposite of that suggested by Cox. Not surprisingly, Cox rejects much of McLuhan. He contends that "After experiencing linear time we cannot return completely to the mythical perspective." Perhaps not, but there remains every likelihood that neo-archaic man will make his appearance even if fully archaic man does not resurface.

Cox's emphasis on the future, his fascination with the promise of Marxist-Christian dialogue, and his activism are consistent with his commitment to a prophetic criticism of the social order and his insistence on the role of the clergy as initiators of constructive social change. Cox has some brilliant observations on the sociological conditions which have given the clergy the freedom to become involved with social action. At a time when Roman Catholics are debating the question of the role of the layman in religious decision-making, Cox points out that Protestant clergy who serve in lay-dominated congregations have far less freedom in the political sphere than those who serve on the staffs of the national institutions administered by the clergy. This is also true of Judaism. It may be that lay control of religious institutions leads to a diminution rather than an increase of the clergy's freedom.

The problem of clerical involvement in social action offers no easy solution. There is often a real difference between assuming a vehement stand on behalf of the underdog and initiating practical programs. Unfortunately, the net result of the clergy's protests against social injustice is often the strengthening of the right wing, and no real gain for the causes espoused. I do not want to suggest that Cox's involvement in social questions must become a futile exercise which changes things only by encouraging the growth of reaction. Nevertheless, there is more to be said about the counter-productivity of simplistic clerical social concern than Cox indicates.

The problem of *realistic* social action may be so complex as to make protesting clergymen well-meaning but impotent figures. I fail to see how the issues of power and interest, which have always been fought out in the political and economic arenas, can realistically be dealt with by the clergy unless they develop resources of political skill which would probably blunt their prophetic sharpness for bringing about even the beginnings of God's kingdom. Cox looks to the future with hope and expectation. I fear that unless real political sophistication is applied to such problems as race, overpopulation and controlled technology, it may turn out to be a nightmare.

Cox deserves to be read and studied by those who part company with him as well as by those who turn to him for reinforcement. The quest for theological relevance always skirts the border of religious journalism. Cox never crosses that border. He is always the theologian. It is to Cox's credit that he faces the world of the twentieth century with an exemplary intellectual and theological urbanity.

Sketches in the Sand

JAMES RESTON

Alfred A. Knopf, $7.95

GENE GRAHAM

James Reston is America's journalist in cinemascope. His screen is broad and often as bright as Julie Andrews on a mountaintop. The sound of his music is

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stereophonic, too, Churchillian in its rhetorical sweep. Like Churchill, Mr. Reston writes history in its broadest context. And like the British cherub, whom he strongly resembles (put your hand over the upper third of the dust-jacket portrait), Mr. Reston leaves his listener confident that God's in his Heaven, there is hope for the world.

This is not to say all's right with the world; there's a difference. The difference is Scotty Reston's stock in trade.

Mr. Reston is an analyst. With clean reason and reasonably simple prose, he has spent a distinguished career picking his way between the messy affairs of the world and mankind's hope to clean it up. Almost invariably, Mr. Reston sees a light at the end of the tunnel. His optimism has cheered millions.

Mr. Reston is also one of his favorite things, a paradox. For he is not what he says, and presumably believes, he is: a Scottish-born Calvinist who "cannot help preaching and raising hell." One cannot dispute Mr. Reston's ancestry but he seldom preaches and almost never raises hell. And as a Calvinist he makes an excellent Locke-ian; few commentators among the many who manipulate the language from Washington abhor autocracy quite so deeply or display less cynicism toward the democratic system they all critique.

Mr. Reston is a philosopher. He places great stock in the spiritual side of things—also a rarity in his trade—and is intrigued by religion. This makes him a theologian, maybe, but not a preacher. Being of this turn of mind, a moderate man who sees all sides, he is about as apt to raise hell as the late Adlai Stevenson. Mr. Reston is understanding. He is tolerant. He is wise. Such men do not crusaders make. And Mr. Reston does not crusade. He merely rationalizes the crusades of others.

Sketches in the Sand, of course, is a reflection of all these things. It is a collection of the columns, the speeches and the papers James Reston has produced over the past several years. The title is something of a modest misnomer. Borrowed from some self-effacing lines by Walter Lippmann, it suggests that there is nothing really endurable here, but of course there is. Metaphorically, Mr. Reston has made his notes in wet cement; that's what gives this book its value.

It is also what makes Mr. Reston more endurable than his critics. In the main those who knock him want him to be what he is not. They want his column to become a pulpit for the gospel of the political left or right. They want his considerable influence, which was won by objective insight and sensitivity, to be dissipated upon subjective and very specific means of obtaining some noble end which they perceive he shares with them. And then there's the matter of the Green Eyed Monster.

Mr. Reston's critiques and methodology are not above criticism, assuredly. Many in the American press establishment disagree with his concept of his own role as commentator and frequent conveyor belt of ideas for his confidants. His notion of secrecy when he agrees with those who decree it is as debatable as the Bay of Pigs. There *is* a bit of Calvinistic God-playing in the makeup of Mr. Reston, after all. But he is at least honest about it and his confessions and observations on The Press and Foreign Policy, reprinted here from his Elihu Root Lecture, is one of the most refreshing and realistic inside appraisals of the Washington corps of reporters and pundits ever to appear.

This is not surprising. Frankness and realism have always been big items with Mr. Reston. Excellent manifestation of this is found in his "Advice to a College Freshman," a 1965 convocation address to the entering class of his alma mater, the University of Illinois. As one who heard it, I can testify to the magnificence of its delivery and the enthusiasm of audience reception. But as one who is still on the scene, I would have to observe that the message did not take too well on those to whom it was directed:

"A respect for fact is another useful companion at the beginning of your journey. You are not obliged to be grateful for the present tumult of the world, but you have to live in it. You may have any opinion you like about Lyndon Johnson, but he's the only Pres-

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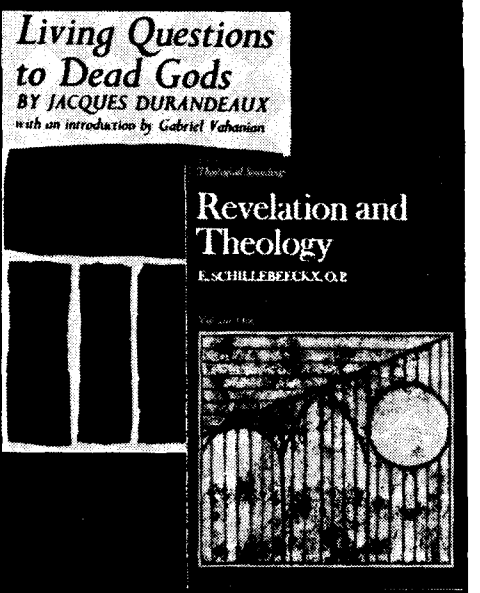
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ident we have. He is a fact—and some fact! You may not like the war in Vietnam, but it is also a fact. You may not like the size of this university—it is certainly not a small monastery—but you have to deal with the world as it is and not with the world of your desires and dreams."

At very least, the leadership element in that freshman class would never accept Mr. Reston's definition of fact today—if they respected it. The freshman of '65 does not accept Lyndon Johnson as *his* President, loathes the war in Vietnam and considers "Hail to the Orange" as corny as the fields that surround an unloved university. Sad, perhaps, but we must also deal with the student world as it is and not in desires and dreams.

Sad, too, for one who greatly admires the rational, but it is likely that Mr. Reston's influence is on the wane—certainly among a youth and a growing contingent of elders who consider this world anything but a rational one. That too is a fact. The nihilistic writer of the angry emotional polemic holds sway in today's academic climate, which may explode another of Mr. Reston's nostalgic but less real notions about education: "We shall have to develop a League of Minds, free and enquiring and respectful of fact, before we shall ever develop an effective League of Nations. And if we cannot look to the universities for this, I don't know where we can turn."

Least of all to the universities, from which today's most strident voices—undergraduate *and* faculty—rise. One is reminded of Norman Cousins' discovery about education and his disillusionment with its promise. Like others, he said, he once felt the whole of man's problems could be solved by the intellect—until the most literate and educated nation on earth touched off World War II before his very eyes.

Perhaps Mr. Reston is wrong and the New Left right. Perhaps it is, after all, an irrational world, and he must go looking among his religious relics for a League of Spirits in place of a League of Minds. Meanwhile, those of us who still cling to logic and naively await its salvation will cherish Mr. Reston, confident that what he has sketched—and built—is not upon sand.

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The Naked Ape

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MARTIN GREEN

As everyone knows by now, this book not only describes the evolution of man from earlier species, but describes present-day man's behavior in the terms we reserve for animals. Hence its *succès de scandale*. Or perhaps that account slightly flatters the facts. The chapter titled "Sex," which has given most offense and most delight, is really another handbook to the varieties of love, with only incidental zoological trappings.

What seems to me interesting about *The Naked Ape* is the other kind of offense it gives, the things in it that make it seem to so many people intellectually cheap. What those things are is aptly enough represented by the title. The twelve-year-old bright-eyed cheekiness of that joke is not something one expects to find sustained throughout a book of this length. And there are many similar jokes, deriving their shock value from juxtapositions of apes and men, zoologists' vocabulary with pop words like "sexy," which all together set the author's dominant tone.

Of course, the book is in another sense not cheap. Within its genre of popularized science—which I take very seriously—it is a professional performance. And I mean the zoologist's profession as well as the writer's, for I see no derogation from a scientist's dignity in writing a book that so clearly and energetically relates his specialist work to the concerns of the contemporary man in the street. Excluding for a moment the considerations of my last paragraph, I think such a book represents one of the *most* dignified forms of scientific activity.

But one has to return to those considerations, to the author's tone, to his relation to his reader. I think everyone must ask, as they read, "What was this book written *for?*" At the end, Dr. Morris offers to answer. He wrote it to prevent the species from going extinct, by giving us a long hard look at ourselves as biological specimens so that we understand our limitations. Now, that, I think, is not why the book was written. I mean, that is not what it does. The jokes don't resonate at that level. The tone doesn't relate to those tones.

On the other hand, the author's voice acquires a kind of power just from its limitations. There is a middle-level, common-sense, bray that is powerful in intellectual style just as in spoken intonations. Dr. Morris is an Encyclopaedist. He reduces the larger possibilities of human rhetoric, and he does so intelligently—I mean he knows what he is doing. The cheerful cheekiness of his jokes expresses his acceptance of his role vis à vis other intellectual possibilities, his deliberate enactment of that role, and this alters—somewhat—their resonance.

It is interesting that having admitted that man needs some religion, he offers us Education as the safest thing for us

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today to worship, with museums and libraries as our temples. We then see that his book is an H. G. Wells version of the Catholic Truth Society pamphlet you might buy at the entry to such a temple. I still think the book is vulgar, but I think the vulgarity has power; it expresses a many-leveled and well-worked-out consensus of attitudes.

Catholic Education in a Changing World

GEORGE N. SHUSTER

Holt, Rinehart, $5.95

ROBERT J. McNAMARA

"This book is a congeries of concerns, and no more" is George Shuster's opening sentence. His main concern is to "find out how education, particularly religious education, can live with change. . . ." Why he wants religious education to remain vital comes through clearly on the book's last page: the perfect Christian must "direct human creativity to its destiny," and the hope that he may do so "is made more real wherever there is a school, however humble, in which the counsels of perfection are cherished." His fear is that the future may well find us trapped into "a kind of Catholic (or Christian) education in which emphasis on religious concern would become quite peripheral."

I find myself in deep sympathy with Dr. Shuster's main concern, his ultimate motive, and his fear. And his book makes me uneasy. Here we have a reflective and experienced author, a subject of immense importance, and impressive empirical data. Yet Dr. Shuster does not know exactly what paths Catholic education *should* take in our changing world. He reflects on a broad range of problems and possibilities, but without any single, sharp focus. His book forces us instead to see the enormously complex difficulties which must be faced by educators in the private and religious systems and to which he offers no *ad hoc* solutions.

And with Andrew Greeley and Reginald Neuwein, on whose Carnegie-sponsored work much of his book is based, Dr. Shuster feels that Catholic parochial and secondary schools will be with us for the foreseeable future. But *should* they be? Shuster thinks so. To the argument that they are privileged enclaves making the integration of minority groups more difficult than it has to be, he replies that they actually could (and sometimes do) facilitate integration and that the presumed inculcation of Christian values in such schools is the parents' attempt to protect their children from the over-permissive and demoralizing forces in the prevailing urban educational environment. In this sense, it is the parents who are traditionally American and urban public education which is subversive. Shuster feels that enough value-inculcation is going on to justify the Catholic schools, even though cases of excessive authoritarianism and of a purely middle-class mentality can still be found there. And even if we were to close the schools tomorrow in order to turn most of the Church's attention to the inner city populations, is there any assurance that the brothers, sisters and lay people currently teaching in the schools would be successful in the ghetto?

Dr. Shuster sees two forces pushing toward proportionately fewer Catholic primary schools and proportionately more secondary schools: money and personnel. As money gets tighter he foresees that more of it will be spent for four years of school—the high school—than for eight years of school. And as the religious and lay teachers get more training, they opt for the more demanding and fulfilling positions on the high school level. Shuster is not unhappy about this because he thinks that the high school years are more suitable for the Christian value formation needed in today's environment, and because he

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REVIEWERS

RICHARD L. RUBENSTEIN is director of the B'Nai B'Rith Hillel Foundation in Pittsburgh and author of *After Auschwitz* (Bobbs-Merrill).

GENE GRAHAM is a member of the Department of Journalism at the University of Illinois.

MARTIN GREEN is the author of *The Problem of Boston* (Norton).

ROBERT J. MCNAMARA, S.J., is associate professor of sociology at Fordham.

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feels that, ordinarily, members of religious communities are less suited to train the child when he is very young.

The financial bind in which all private education, especially church-related finds itself nowadays is succinctly stated by Dr. Shuster. Religious communities running schools must pay a great deal more for the training of their own members today than they used to; at the same time they must pay many more lay teachers much more money than ever before. Where will they get the money? Shuster argues convincingly that, if the Catholic primary and secondary schools were closed, tossing the cost of educating these Catholic Americans to the general public, tax costs would be higher for the Catholic taxpayer than they are now, even taking into account the so-called "double-taxation" for Catholic schools.

But with the costs for both private and public education escalating so rapidly, it is apparent that Catholic schools will not be able to continue paying their bills without new sources of income. And the only source in sight big enough is the Federal Government. Even with greatly increased federal aid to Catholic schools, quite possible now because of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the total education bill for the taxpayer, both Catholic and non-Catholic, will be smaller if the Catholic and other religious schools continue to exist. Further, with government help, the religious schools can do a great deal more for the inner city than they can without it. If government aid is not forthcoming, the consequences will eventually be: higher taxes for *all* taxpayers, less hope for the inner city, and the end of plurality within the mammoth American Educational System. I think I stated these three effects in the order of their climactic importance for the country.

And what of the Catholic university? Shuster readily admits that neither the Catholic college nor the university exists to inculcate a traditional brand of theology and philosophy. Then why do they, and why *should* they, continue to exist? Some of them should not, in Shuster's opinion (as well as in my own), but might transform themselves into secondary schools or amalgamate with other institutions. But should *any* continue to exist? Shuster reviews the arguments, *pro* and *con*, and finally states that "The Catholic university is the result of a congruence. It is a corporate resolve to achieve the interpenetration of religious and scientific experience." I would like to add the adjective "humanistic," and I think the same argument would also apply, on another level, to a good college which is not part of a university. If the Catholic university can do this, and do it well, then it will "for weal or woe bear witness" to God's involvement in the world. It will also fill a real gap in American university life, until such time as American universities take religion seriously. When and if they do, we may not need Catholic universities—but I am not sure even of that. Dr. Shuster would certainly not hold his breath until then, and neither would I.

All Catholics concerned about education, however uneasy they remain in the face of an uncertain future, stand to gain by coming into contact with Dr. Shuster's mature Christian optimism.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 703)

our troops is concerned. . . this "issue," if such it is, is a phony one, a classic example of the use of powerful positive symbols to coerce assent to the *political* objectives of this war, and of the men who have chosen to launch it. If the war is politically and morally unjustified, as I believe it to be, then the judgment which has to be passed is as brutal as it is unpopular: every American serviceman who has died, is dying or will die in Vietnam will have died in vain. Our men will have died to defend the political blunders of their rulers.

(3) "Corruption" is a word being used by critics against the Saigon regime as a kind of shorthand for everything which they find wrong with it. . . It is well known that this puppet regime could not survive for a week without the presence of the Americans, any more than Wang Ching-wei was able to survive in Nanking in the 1940's without the presence of Japanese bayonets. It is also well known to people whose memories are longer than the Administration's that the VC had brought the Saigon government to the very verge of collapse in 1964-65, *without* substantial North Vietnamese help, and with little or no North Vietnamese military intervention. How very little dedicated support the Saigon regime has was brilliantly displayed on January 31, when the VC was able to carry out its attacks on dozens of urban centers with complete tactical surprise and with no advance warning by *anyone* in the civil population either to Saigon or to the Americans.

What all of this comes down to is this: the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese are fighting for a cause, in the name of which they are willing to lay down their lives in extraordinary numbers. The siege of Hue, which was the most protracted case of street fighting since Stalingrad, is an excellent example of this incredibly tough and—may I say it?—valorous resistance against overwhelming military force.

And what of the other side? With some

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splendid exceptions, especially the Montagnards, the forces which fight on the American side are notoriously deficient in *esprit de corps*, indeed in all of the characteristics which make a solid, dependable fighting force. What is the cause for which they are willing to fight and die? Where can it be found? Evidently not in Saigon and not in its government. . .

WALTER DEAN BURNHAM

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Is William Shannon the road-company George Christian? . . . It isn't simply that Shannon is a man of hawkish hue. It's more that his polemics on Vietnam are so close to the cornpone content of that travesty of a free press, the LBJ press conference. How obscene for Shannon to speak of the "courage of the Marines. . .in the streets of Hue and Saigon. . ."—as if the courage of the G.I.s had one atom to do with a government policy that may well be insane . . . As for the Viet Cong's latest surge, bloody as it has been, what is it but distant cousin to our own machinery of destruction, from B-52s to napalm to defoliation to eradication of whole villages . . .

SIDNEY BERNARD

Renewal in Convents

Washington D. C.

To the Editors: If Monica Baldwin's recent attitude is correctly stated by Neville Braybrooke's piece in your 23 February issue, then one wonders if she has heard nothing of the renewals going ahead in most convents and monasteries. Surely in her reported agony over obedience's loss, she misses the frequent sterility of all that, and the steady attempts made by many religious in the past ten years or more to recapture the true basis of Christianity: justice and love. . . .

One can only hope that Miss Baldwin will be able to appraise more positively the growing renewal of Christianity in our religious communities, where the religious state is seen as a striving for the more perfect fulfilment of a Christian life, permeated by love after justice is fully secured, with the vows of obedience, chastity and poverty relegated to their rightful place as noble and useful means, but as means only.

E. J. ROSS

CORRECTION

In James M. Gustafson's article, "New Directions in Moral Theology" (Feb. 23), the italicized words in the following were inadvertently omitted from the last paragraph on page 622: "Unless we have a hard-determinism, what is the case is not the same as what God is doing; not every form of fellowship with man is fellowship with God unless 'fellowship' *carried a hidden freight of normative usage. Or, if every fellowship* with man is fellowship with God, let us honestly dispense with God, for purposes of ethics."

In his article, Dr. Gustafson discussed at length William H. Van der Marck's book, *Toward a Christian Ethic*, recently published by the Newman Press ($4.95).

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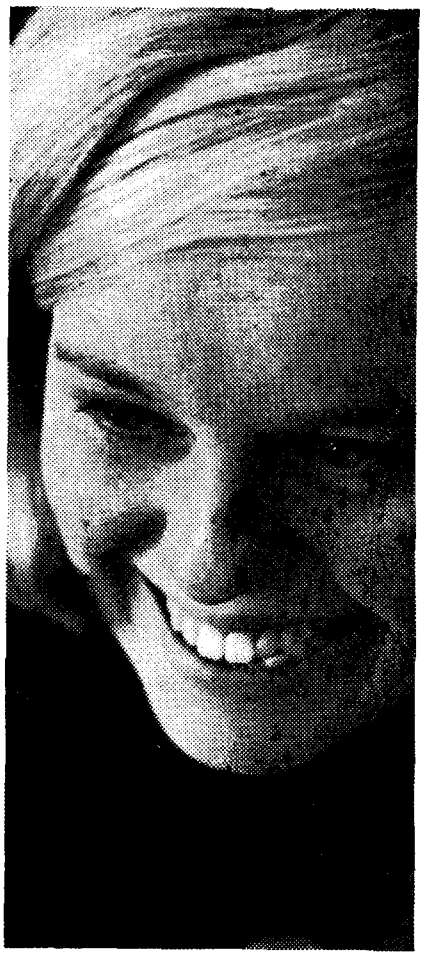

Esmé O'Connor '68, English major, Rutherford, N.J., student governor '67-'68, Pennsylvania Women's Extemp Champion '65, '66, '67, Harbinger editor '66-'67, Delta Epsilon Sigma, Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities . . . confident of herself as a woman . . . intellectually stimulated . . . continuously curious . . . spiritually sound.

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